

Reseña de ERIC CALDERWOOD (2018): *Colonial al-Andalus. Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

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Eric Calderwood's book *Colonial al-Andalus* is intended to modify the perspective we imagine the relations between Spain and Morocco, between the "modern" (contemporary) and the "medieval", between the colonial and the anti-colonial. Bringing the reader into the Muslim cemetery of Tetouan, the former capital of Spanish Morocco (1912-1956), Calderwood shows us the mausoleum of Abu al-Hasan al-Manzari, the city's (re)founder in 15th century, and of 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Turris (1910-1970), leader of the nationalist movement in northern Morocco. In Calderwood's words: "Al-Manzari's shared mausoleum with al-Turris elides a temporal gap of five centuries. It unites, under one roof, the history of Tetouan's Andalusí foundation, embodied by al-Manzari, and the history of the Moroccan nationalist movement, embodied with al-Turris. The building, thus, draws a direct line between the Andalusí migration to Morocco in the fifteenth century and the struggle for Moroccan independence in the twentieth century". (p. 5) Retracing the critical phases of the encounter/clash between the two shores of the western Mediterranean Sea, the author deconstructs the idea behind the so-called "Andalus-centric" narrative of Moroccan history – namely that the culture of al-Andalus did not disappear with the Christian reconquista of the Iberian peninsula but it "migrated" to Morocco, where it survived up today.

Moroccan historiography claim that the "legacy of al-Andalus is an essential component of Moroccan identity and culture". (p. 7) Calderwood, on the other hand, argues that the Moroccan identity linked to al-Andalus is not a medieval heritage but rather a construction originated from the encounter/clash with Spanish colonialism. From 1859/60 Spain revitalized the memory of al-Andalus to underline the historical connections with North Africa, in order to justify the colonial claims. The high-point of this process was reached in 1936/39 with the Spanish Civil War. Francisco Franco, a "Muslims' friend", exploited the al-Andalus' heritage to guarantee himself an (almost) infinite replacement of "cannon fodder". The caudillo granted political freedoms to Tetouan's

nationalists: the nationalist party al-Iṣlāḥ was founded in Tetouan in 1936, 7 years earlier than the Francophone nationalist party, al-Istiqlāl. In the interstices of this collaboration with the Spanish colonial administration the new Moroccan national narrative began to take shape. Paradoxically, this national narrative resumed and overturned the Spanish narrative related to al-Andalus and “a Spanish way to talk about Morocco became a Moroccan way to talk about Morocco”. (p. 9)

From the perspective of Modern Spanish and Moroccan Studies the originality of Calderwood’s work is manifold. First of all, the author disagrees with the historical scholarship on modern Spain which generally treats the Spanish Civil War as a rupture between two visions of Spain, the Republic and the Franco’ Spain. However, Calderwood shows that Republicans and Francoists adopted the same colonialist perspective towards North Africa. They also referred to the same myths concerning al-Andalus’ heritage, in support of their respective colonial claims.

In this sense, Calderwood focuses on the figure of Blas Infante, considered the “father of Andalusian homeland (1885-1936) and on his play *Motamid* (1920). By narrating Ibn al-Khatib’s (1313-1375) pilgrimage – al-Khatib was a poet and minister of the Sultan of Granada and the last to go on pilgrimage there before Infante’s trip – to the burial place of al-Mūtamid Ibn’Abbad (1040-1095), king-poet of Seville, Infante constructs a genealogy that unites himself with the two Andalusian poets, tracing a direct line between the 11th century Seville, the 15th century Granada and 20th century Andalusia. The mythical al-Andalus, metaphorically represented by the tomb of al-Mūtamid, became a symbol of an “alternative” theology, neither Muslim nor Christian but rather based on the values that were attributed to al-Andalus itself – the universal principles of love, freedom and peace. On the one hand, it is true that Infante’s writings celebrated the role of ethnic and cultural diversity in the construction of the Andalusian identity and, therefore, of *convivencia* as a concept linked to the presumed dimension of religious tolerance that allowed Muslims, Christians and Jews to live peacefully in al-Andalus. Thus, it is possible to define the same Infante as an example of multiculturalism avant letter. Nonetheless, it is also true that the same Andalusian nationalism (self-described as “internationalist nationalism” or “anti-nationalist nationalism” and on which has been modelled the identity of the contemporary Andalusian region) clashed violently with the construction of other identities, in this case the Catalan and Moroccan nationalisms. “Originating as a call for regional autonomy, Infante’s brand of *andalucismo* evolved in to a critique of Catalan nationalism and a justification for Spanish colonialism”. (p. 141) These ideas, especially the concept of “*hermandad hispano-marroquí*”, were later taken up by the Francoist colonial project: “Blas Infante, a Republican martyr, helped sow the seeds of the colonial ideology that would guide Francoism in Morocco”. (p. 120)

Similarly to Spanish historiography, also Moroccan historiography is structured around another rupture, the independence of Morocco in 1956. The earliest post-independence scholarly works supported the idea of a continuity between the pre- and post-colonial “national unity”, treating the Franco-Spanish Protectorate as an alien moment in Moroccan history. In the perspective of the post-colonial studies, Calderwood’s work fits into a “body of scholarship that aims to show how the colonial experience continues to shape and define political and cultural debates in post-independence Morocco” by analyzing “North African national cultures as discursive constructs rather than ontological essences”. (p. 14) The author seeks to move beyond the colonizer-colonized and collaboration/resistance binaries for an interpretation of political and social action aimed at negotiating the power and the role that the notables and the colonial administration

assumed within the new colonial political field: the notables did not limit themselves to accepting the imposition of the Protectorate and the expansion of the state but continuously sought to increase their manoeuvring spaces, responding to their group's interests. On the other hand, the colonial powers always needed reliable intermediaries to impose their rule. Moving toward framework that emphasize lateral connections between colonized subjects and spaces, the author demonstrates how colonial strategies were determined by local specificities and contingencies and how the affirmation of these notables groups as power groups within the new colonial field was not the exclusive result of European action but also, and above all, a product of the African history itself. Calderwood draws upon a diverse array of sources in Spanish, Catalan and Arabic languages, most of which were completely ignored by the scholarship up today. Moreover, the author relies on the archival sources of the Archivo General de la Administración (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid) and on those kept in the Tetouan's notables familiar archives – the Binnuna, Dawud, Benaboud and al-Turris' families. Finally, Calderwood found a great help in the "exploitation" of oral sources: he had talks with Boubkir Binnuna and M'hammed Benaboud, respectively Abd al-Salam Binnuna and Mohamed Ahmed Benaboud's sons, and with Hasnâ Dawud and Kenza al-Turris, respectively Mohammed Dawud and Abd al-Khaliq al-Turris' daughters. In addition to provide Calderwood with the Arabic published sources (mainly the historical production of the intellectual elite itself) and with the archival sources (written documents, pictures, etc.,...) of their familiar archives, these personalities helped the author with their personal point of view. Even if it is evident that their perspective cannot be objective because they are the still living members of the ex-notable network, their testimonies are important to understand some specific aspects of Moroccan social history.

The author introduces the concept of "Hispano-Arab culture". In its first formulation this concept referred to a cultural ideal, rooted in the myth of *convivencia*. With Francoism, the concept evolves from a cultural ideal to a series of artistic practices that codify Spain and Morocco's Andalusian heritage. This evolution can also be thought as the passage between the Umayyad Cordoba of the 10th and 11th centuries (symbol of interreligious tolerance) to the Nasrid Granada between 12th and 15th centuries, remembered for the refinement and elegance linked to the arts and architecture, which were "transported" to Morocco by those who took refuge there after the Christian reconquista. In English, this concept can have two different meanings based on the language translation: Hispano-Arab (Arab in the "ethnic" sense) and Hispano-Arabic (Arabic in reference to the language and culture). The Spanish authors – whose works are analyzed in this book – used three distinct categories to refer to the same concept but without distinction of meaning: Arab, Arabic and Muslim (religious category). Calderwood states that a "constitutive tension" is built together with the same concept: the Hispano-Arab culture claims to identify something uniquely Spanish and Moroccan but at the same time this specificity is predicated through the total obfuscation of ethnic, religious, linguistic, geographical and historical boundaries.

Calderwood focuses on the Franco's promotion of a Hispano-Arab cultural ideal that links al-Andalus inter-religiousness with Spanish colonialism in Morocco. The Francoist colonial ideology structured itself in contrast with the French one: the Francoist thinkers affirmed that Hispano-Arab culture – and therefore the conflagration of Islam, Arabism and Morocco – was an integral part of Spanish history and completely alien to France's history. Francoism gave a strong impetus to scientific and academic collaboration to strengthen relations between Spain and the Arab world and to define their own colonialism compared to French colonialism, considered less suitable

precisely because of the lack of a common heritage that bound colonial power with colonized territory. Then Calderwood continues to investigate the promotion of the Hispano-Arab culture but in its “Granadian” moment, that is moving the focus on the investigation from the cultural concept of Hispano-Arab culture towards a series of Andalusian material practices that symbolized the splendour of the arts in the 15th century’s Granada.

Calderwood first analyzed the works of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Tomás García Figueras and then investigates two specific attempts to define, preserve and administer two aspects of the Moroccan culture, heritage of the al-Andalus’ shared heritage: crafts and music.

Alarcon’s *Diary of a Witness of the War of Africa* (1860) is a direct testimony of the war of Tetouan and through its analysis Calderwood traces the origins of “colonial al-Andalus”, thus making “natural” the colonial claims in North Africa. García Figueras’ *Marruecos: la acción de España en el Norte de África* (1939), on the other hand places Spanish colonialism outside the more general context of European colonialism in Africa and he states that if Spain can be considered as the transitional country between Europe and Africa so the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco represented the rebirth of al-Andalus’ inter-religious convivencia, considering Europe and Africa as not only geographical but also cultural concepts.

Overturning the perspective, Calderwood explores the place of al-Andalus in modern Moroccan literary history. Calderwood aims to discuss how the use of al-Andalus’ heritage in Moroccan literature has changed between the 19th and 20th centuries. In the earliest moments of encounter/clash with Spain, al-Andalus provided a series of clichés to reflect on the origins of colonialism in Africa and, more generally, to rethink on the relations between Islam and Christianity. The rise of Moroccan nationalist movement consecrated al-Andalus as one of the cornerstones of the Moroccan national identity, linked to a specific narrative of cultural transmission inherited from medieval Iberia, which manifests itself in different cultural practices (music, cuisine, architecture, etc.).

Through the analysis of Mufaddal Afaylal’s (1824-1887) works – Afaylal was a poet who lived and recounts the earliest successful or frustrated European colonial attempts in North Africa – the author investigates “the tension between the specificity of al-Andalus as a particular place and time in Islamic and Iberian history and the plasticity of al-Andalus as an idea that travels across time and performs useful work for writers living in different historical and cultural context”. (p. 75) Then, Calderwood introduces Ahmad al-Rahuni (1878-1953), an historian and law scholar who acted as spokesman for the hajj (pilgrimage) sponsored by Franco in 1937. In 1941, the General Franco Institute published al-Rahuni’s *Journey to Mecca*. The Francoism took up the concept of “hermandad hispano-marroquí” and drew an ideological continuity, placing Islamic and Christian monotheism in a single crusade against the “Godless”. *Journey to Mecca* can be considered an apology of Francoism but Calderwood demonstrates how al-Rahuni succeeded in making European colonialism speak in different languages: using the language of the hajj – and therefore the Koranic language – al-Rahuni posed Francoism in the Muslim world itself and translated the Franco discourse into Arabic and also into an Islamic idiom.

Calderwood studies the reception of the concept of Hispano-Arab culture and its use by the Lebanese Christian poet Amin al-Rihani in his (1876-1940) travel diary, *al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (1939).

The Lebanese poet states that between Spain and Morocco there is a special relationship of mutual understanding thanks to the sharing of a common past, which is associated with the Andalusian heritage, especially the myth of *convivencia*. Spain thus assumes the leading role in the cultural rebirth of Morocco and Francoism is raised to the position of champion of the promotion of the Hispano-Arab culture, in contrast with the policy of ethnic exclusion perpetrated by France. In fact, Hispano-Arab culture has a strong anti-French political connotation: the Frenchs, through the Berber dahir (1930), aimed at the division of the Moroccan population on “ethnic” basis; on the other hand, the Francoist’s project of cultural revival aimed at the union of the whole population under a single category of reference, paradoxically always an “ethnic” one. In the “Arabic” adjective was intrinsic the defensive position assumed by Spain against the cultural and religious unity of Morocco, under the banner of the Arab-Islamic identity. This position is taken over by al-Rihani who emphasizes its ethnic and cultural connotations rather than religious ones. The poet, a Christian-Arab, focuses on the cultural heritage that binds Arab culture and he extends its meaning to the point of affirming Spain’s privileged position in relations with the Arab world as a whole.

The author deals with how Spanish colonial culture has been metabolized by the Moroccan national culture. “Tetouan is Granada”, a colonial slogan, is transformed and changed function, becoming a milestone of nationalist ideology. In the context of the protests against the ratification of the Berber dahir, Calderwood introduces the figure of Shakib Arslan (1869-1946) – pan-Islamic intellectual and activist, “warrior of the East and West” – who contributed significantly to internationalize the Berber issue and the claims of the new-born Moroccan nationalist movement through the pan-Islamic networks in Europe, Egypt and Middle East. However, with the aim of modifying the geographical and thematic perspective through which the events of Moroccan history were studied in the 1930’s, Calderwood focuses on the analysis of Arslan’s works on al-Andalus and on the impact that his works had on the evolution of Moroccan nationalism, especially in Spanish Morocco, particularly in Tetouan. Calderwood dwells on some personalities of the political and cultural Tetouan’s elite: ‘Abd al-Salam Binnuna (1888-1935), Muhammad Dawud (1901-1984), Mhammad Binnuna (1900-1967) and ‘Abd al-Khaliq al-Turris (1910-1970). For the first generation of Moroccan nationalists, including the Binnuna and Dawud, they did not consider al-Andalus as something of the past that did not exist in the present but, on the contrary, the respective family origins showed how al-Andalus, its population and its culture, had migrated from the Iberian peninsula to Morocco in the 15th century – “Tetouan is the daughter of Granada” wrote Binnuna in the preface of the Dawud’s opera magna. The second generation of nationalists (like al-Turris) went further replacing the abstract idea of al-Andalus as a symbol of Islamic civilization with a series of cultural practices and values that can only be found in the city of Tetouan, as a daughter of Granada. The Spanish colonial administration granted wide spaces of cultural and political freedom to Moroccan nationalism, to justify the claim to define itself as a defender of Islam and conservator of the Andalusian cultural heritage. Similarly, Moroccan nationalism co-opted Spanish ideas with respect to al-Andalus and remodelled it according to the new national perspective.

In the epilogue, Calderwood points out how colonial discourses about al-Andalus have made their way into official discourse of the ruling Alawi dynasty by investigated the construction of the mausoleum complex for Mohammed V. Built between 1962 and 1971, it is located in front of the famous Hassan Tower, the minaret of the mosque commissioned by Yáqub al-Mansur (1184-1199) (third Caliph of the Almohad dynasty) in 1197. The Hassan Tower, one of the “three sisters” with

the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakech and the Giralda in Seville, was the symbol of the political and cultural unity of al-Andalus under the Almohad dynasty, which extended its rule from North Africa to the Iberian peninsula. In 1955, returning from his exile and at the eve of independence, Mohammed V led a crowd of faithful to prayer at the foot of the Hassan Tower. At his death, suddenly in 1961, his body was exposed for a few days in adoration of his subjects in the square in front of the Hassan Tower. "Therefore, when Hassan II chose the area surrounding the Hassan Minaret as the site for his father's mausoleum, he was choosing a space that symbolized Morocco's past glory, its cultural connection with the Iberian peninsula, and its recent fight for independence". (p. 291) Furthermore, the architectural style and decorations used to construct the complex trace a space-time line that connects "a twentieth-century Moroccan king on a fourteenth-century Spanish Christian palace (the Alcázar of Seville, a/n) that emulated, in turn, the Islamic architecture of Nasrid Granada". (p. 296) Although the mausoleum complex is considered a symbol of national independence and, therefore, of the break with the Franco-Spanish colonial rule, the project clearly highlights the influences that the Spanish colonial discourse had on the construction of identity and of the post-independence national narrative. The oblivion in which have fallen the al-Manzari and al-Turris' shared mausoleum and the city of Tetouan must be a reminder, for the new generations of scholars, to investigate the history of Spanish Morocco.